

On page 4, strike line 3 and all that follows through the end of the matter following line 6 and insert the following:

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of contents in section 1(b) of the Homeland Security Act of 2002 is amended—

(1) by striking the items relating to sections 523, 524, 525, 526, and 527; and

(2) by inserting after the item relating to section 522 the following:

“Sec. 523. Guidance and recommendations.

“Sec. 524. Voluntary private sector preparedness accreditation and certification program.

“Sec. 525. Acceptance of gifts.

“Sec. 526. Integrated public alert and warning system modernization.

“Sec. 527. National planning and education.

“Sec. 528. Coordination of Department of Homeland Security efforts related to food, agriculture, and veterinary defense against terrorism.”.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time.

The bill (H.R. 1238), as amended, was passed.

NORTH KOREA

Mr. SULLIVAN. Mr. President, I want to talk this evening about a very serious threat to the United States; that is, the threat from North Korea and what we in the Congress should be doing about it.

Now, over the weekend we saw another piece of news about how the North Korean regime is again testing missiles, testing for intercontinental ballistic missiles, more missile launches, literally two in the last 2 weeks.

I would say this is one of the most serious threats facing the United States of America right now because what has now become clear, it is no longer if Kim Jong Un and the North Korean regime will have the ability to range the United States of America with an intercontinental ballistic nuclear missile. It is no longer if. It is when.

This has been stated time and time again in open hearings we have had on the Armed Services Committee with generals and some of the top experts in the United States. It used to be, hey, maybe he would have this capability sometime down the road. Maybe he will never get it. They are not saying that any longer. Think about that. Every American should be thinking about that. It is no longer if but when one of the craziest dictators in the world will have the capability to launch an intercontinental ballistic nuclear missile. It is not just ranging my State, the great State of Alaska, which unfortunately for me and my constituents is in the line of fire earlier than other States or Hawaii, which faces similar risks to Alaska, but we are talking about the continental United States. We are talking about Chicago, New York City, Los Angeles. It is not if but when.

So yesterday in front of the Armed Services Committee, the Director of National Intelligence, our good friend,

former Senator Dan Coats, when I asked him and General Stewart, the top military officer for our intelligence agencies, when they thought this was going to happen—well, it is a classified number and it is a classified time. I actually think it should be unclassified, given their estimates, to let the American people know what is coming because it is probably a lot sooner, at least in the estimates, than most people think. So that is what we are facing right now, and people should be concerned about it.

Let me give you a little bit more on the facts of this. Kim Jong Un, the leader of North Korea, the unstable dictator of North Korea, has publicly stated it is his goal to develop a nuclear-capable intercontinental ballistic missile that can strike the continental United States. Now, let's just be clear. This is a man who starves his own citizens, sentences them by the tens of thousands to inhumane labor camps, and just a month ago allegedly assassinated his half-brother in a Malaysian airport with poison to kill him.

In fact, since assuming power just 5 years ago, as my next chart shows, Kim Jong Un has conducted more missile tests and twice as many nuclear tests as both his father and grandfather did in their 60 years of ruling over North Korea. Look at these numbers: That is the Kim Jong Un regime, Kim Jong Il, Kim Il Sung. So he is focused on this more than his father and grandfather were. As I mentioned, it seems almost daily there is another one of these missile tests or even nuclear tests.

Now, one of the things you see in the press sometimes is, well, some of these missile tests are failing. There have been failures, and there have been notable successes, such as the country's first intermediate range ballistic missile, its first submarine launch ballistic missile, its first solid fuel launch missile, and its ability to put satellites in space. This is actual progress. This is significant progress.

On the nuclear side, the country's fifth test—and Kim Jong Un's third—had an estimated yield in terms of its power of 15 to 20 kilotons, approximately the size of the nuclear bomb dropped on Hiroshima. While this yield was not as large as they were expecting, the test again on the nuclear side shows steady progress in their nuclear program and steady progress in their ballistic missile program.

So what does all this mean? Why is Kim Jong Un testing so often? Even though he fails, he is still learning. That is exactly what the commander of U.S. Strategic Command said last month during a Senate Armed Services hearing.

Gen. John Hyten stated: North Korea is going fast. Test, fail, test, fail, succeed. They are learning, and as you can see them learning, they are developing the capabilities for intercontinental ballistic missiles. That is how it works in the rocket business.

That is happening right now. That is happening right now. That is in the news right now.

Also in the news is what the United States has been doing to protect our allies from this and other threats. So let me give you an example. There has been a lot of news about the THAAD deployment, a missile defense system in South Korea deployed by the U.S. Army to protect our troops and South Korea's citizens, to protect our troops in Korea, protect our troops in Japan, and to protect our allies. Now, I am very supportive of this—very supportive of this.

The President is on his Middle East trip. He is going to Europe now. He mentioned just a few days ago maybe having a THAAD system in Saudi Arabia, an American system to help protect the Saudis from the Iranian missile threat. Again, I am very supportive.

As the Presiding Officer knows, in our last National Defense Authorization Act, we had significant authorization and funding to help Israel protect itself with a missile defense system, the Iron Dome system, where we have been working with the Israelis to help their citizens be protected against an Iranian missile threat.

Again, I support all of these. I applaud these efforts, I have supported them, I voted for them, but it does beg the question that some of my constituents back home in Alaska are beginning to ask, and I am sure other Americans are asking in every State in the country: What about us? What about the United States? What about the U.S. homeland? Isn't that where Kim Jong Un said he wants to launch intercontinental ballistic nuclear missiles? It is. It is exactly where he said he wants to do it.

The bottom line is, we need to do much more to protect ourselves. We need to do much more to protect the United States of America. Yes, we need to protect our allies, but we need to start focusing a little bit more on home, and we need to start focusing now.

In fact, if we know this threat is coming, which we do—there has been testimony after testimony—I think it would be the height of irresponsibility to not start working on increasing America's homeland missile defense. That is what we should be doing.

That is why I have introduced a very bipartisan bill called the Advancing America's Missile Defense Act of 2017. Again, Republicans and Democrats are already on the bill. I believe the Presiding Officer is now a cosponsor.

I would like to paint a scenario that we all know will happen unfortunately sometime in the future—again, on why this bill is so important, why what we need to be doing on missile defense is so important.

Just think through the headline. Let's assume a couple years down the road Kim Jong Un has this capability to launch an intercontinental nuclear

ballistic missile to hit a lower 48 city. Well, we know that is going to start leaking out. The headlines will be front page, banner headlines: Dictator of North Korea can range Chicago, New York. It will be all over the news. It will be the only thing we talk about.

There will be enormous pressure on the White House and others to do something about this. On that day when we see the banner headlines, a lot of Americans will be very nervous. The American people and the American media will look at the people in the Pentagon, will look at the people in Congress, will look at the leadership in the White House, and will ask three critical questions. Are we safe? Did we see this coming? Have we been doing anything about it and, if so, what? That is what they are going to ask.

We know that day is coming. We are not sure when, but we know that day is coming—again, not if, but when. People are going to ask those questions. If we know that, and we do, we need to be able to say to all three of those questions—whether it is the Secretary of Defense, the President of the United States, or whether it is all of us here, the Democrats and Republicans in the Senate, we need to be able to answer the American people and say: Yes, we are safe; yes, we saw this coming; and yes, we have the world's most robust, technologically advanced, capable missile defense system that will with near certainty shoot down any North Korean missile launch at the United States and give our President and the Congress the strategic time and space to make potentially world-altering decisions.

We know this is coming, and I think we should be doing everything we can in our power to focus on it, so we will be safe, and we will be able to say yes to all three of those questions if we begin to seriously focus on America's missile defense, which is what our legislation is all about.

Unfortunately, our Nation has not always been focused on funding our missile defense system, and in many ways the funding has been erratic. As the Center for Strategic and International Studies put it recently, such funding for America's missile defense has been marked by high ambition, followed by increasing modesty. I think the time for modesty on an issue of this importance is over.

From 2006 to 2016, homeland missile defense funding, adjusted for inflation, declined nearly 50 percent, and homeland missile defense testing declined more than 83 percent. The goal of our bill is to change that and change it significantly. Among its other elements, Advancing America's Missile Defense Act will grow our U.S. base missile interceptors from what we have now, which is about 44, to as many as 72 and will require our military to look at having up to 100 interceptors distributed across the United States.

The bill will also authorize the more rapid deployment of new and better

kill vehicles. These are the bullets, essentially, on top of the warheads. It will allow a layer of space-based sensors and radars to track missile threats from launch to intercept, a technological advancement that would improve all missile systems to make sure we have a layered missile defense, whether it is THAAD in Asia, Aegis Ashore and on ships, or our missile system here at home—all of it integrated. Right now we don't have that.

The bill also will increase the pace of missile defense testing to allow U.S. forces to learn from actual launches of our defense systems and increase the confidence we have in our system and its effectiveness. This is very important. The Department of Defense needs to change the culture around missile defense, testing regularly and conducting more flight tests. Unfortunately, every test is not always going to be a success. It is OK to fail because we learn from failure.

I don't like to admit on the floor of the U.S. Senate that we could learn something from the North Koreans, but that is the approach they are taking. That is why their missile and nuclear programs are advancing so rapidly. They are not afraid to fail.

What we need to do is enhance our testing, enhance our missile defense, enhance our capabilities because, as I mentioned at the outset, it is no longer if, but when. That day is coming, and we need to be ready for it, and the United States Senate can lead in addressing this very significant challenge to America's national security.

I am encouraged that our bill has already gotten strong bipartisan support from Democrats and Republicans because they know how important it is. I hope my colleagues on both sides of the aisle truly understand the significance and seriousness of this threat, and I hope they can continue to support our Advancing America's Missile Defense Act of 2017. There are very few foreign policy and national security issues that are more important than making sure we address this threat to America's security.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Oregon.

TRUMPCARE

Mr. MERKLEY. Mr. President, our Nation and our government were founded on a principle that can be summed up in three words: "We the People," the first three words of our Constitution, the three words that our Founders wrote in supersized font so that no matter who you were you would remember that this is the guiding mission of our form of government. This is the guiding mission of the Constitution.

From across the room, you can't read the fine print of article I and article II and so forth, but you can see what the Constitution is all about: we the people.

Lincoln captured that notion when he spoke in his Gettysburg Address and said: "We are a nation of the people, by the people, and for the people." He didn't describe our system of government as of, by, and for the privileged. Our Founders didn't write "We, the powerful and privileged" at the start of our Constitution. That is what makes us different from the governments that dominated Europe, where the rich and powerful governed on behalf of the rich and powerful. America turned that on its head with our system of government. Our system of democratic republic governance.

Therefore, we are at a very strange moment right now because just 20 days ago, 217 Members, a small majority over in the House, voted for a bill that was all about government of and by the powerful, for the powerful, of and by the privileged, for the privileged, not by the people, for the people. They voted for TrumpCare.

We witnessed the House passing this horrific piece of legislation that will ensure that millions of low-income and middle-class Americans are worse off, will receive less care, and will have to pay more for their healthcare, assuming they can even get it. But, on the other hand, the bill delivers \$600 billion in platinum-plated tax benefits to the richest Americans.

Picture the situation: our President holding a celebration at the White House, standing on a platform, crushing more than 20 million people in terms of their access to healthcare, while celebrating a golden plate with platinum-plated gifts to the wealthiest Americans. That is what happened 20 days ago in the House of Representatives. That is not a pretty sight and certainly doesn't fit the mission of our Nation.

Franklin Roosevelt shared his vision of how we progress in the following fashion. He said: "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have little."

But the Trump principle that was supported by 217 House Members 20 days ago is the opposite. The Trump principle is that the test of our progress is whether we add more to the abundance of those who have most, while taking away from those who do not have enough. That is what happened. That is the difference between Franklin Roosevelt and government of, by, and for the people, and President Trump and 217 House Members who passed a bill of, by, and for the powerful and the privileged.

It is astonishing to me that this happened. American citizens, when they heard about the first version of this bill, TrumpCare 1.0, they overflowed the inboxes, they proceeded to fill the streets, they flooded the phone lines, and people up here heard them and said: We understand. We don't have the votes to pass this TrumpCare 1.0 in the House because we hear you telling us how horrific this bill is.